

distinguished country, is needed at this moment to rally the nation to those true principles by which alone this great rebellion can be permanently suppressed. I should be truly happy to take part in it, and try to impart to others something of the strength of my own convictions.

It is only necessary that people should see things as they are, and they will easily see how to deal with them. This is the obvious condition of practical action. Now, beyond all question, slavery is the great transcendent malfactor and omnipresent traitor—more deadly to the Union than the leaders, civil or military, of the rebellion. Of course, therefore, if you are in earnest against the rebellion, you will not spare slavery. And happily the way is plain—so that it cannot be mistaken.

Look now throughout the whole rebel territory, and you will find a single officer legally qualified to discharge any of the functions of Government. By the Constitution of the United States, "members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." But these functionaries have all renounced their allegiance to the United States, and taken a new oath to support the Rebel Government, so that at this moment they cannot be recognized as constitutionally empowered to act. But a State is known only through its functionaries, constitutionally empowered to act; and since these have ceased to exist, the State, with its unnatural institutions, has ceased to exist, or it exists only in the dead parchment by which its Government was originally established. The action of these functionaries was impotent to transfer its territory to a pretended Confederation. To destroy the States was all that they could do.

In the absence of any constitutional authority in this territory, Congress must assume all necessary jurisdiction. Not to do so will be an abandonment of urgent duty. There are some who propose a temporary military government; others propose a temporary provisional government, with limited powers. All these concede to Congress jurisdiction over the territory; nor can this jurisdiction be justly questioned. But it seems to me clearly best that, on this important occasion, we shall follow the authoritative precedents of our history, and proceed as Congress has been accustomed to proceed in the organization and government of other territories. This will be simple. And, as to slavery, if there be any doubt that it died constitutionally and legally with the State from which it drew its wicked breath, it might be prohibited by the enactment of that same Jeffersonian ordinance, which originally established Freedom throughout the great Northwest.

Accept my thanks for the honor you have done me, and believe me, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours, CHARLES SUMNER.
JAMES MCKAY, Esq., Chairman, &c.

LETTER FROM THE HON. HENRY WILSON.

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1862.
DEAR SIR: Your note requesting my attendance at a meeting to be held on the evening of March 6, of the citizens of New York "who rejoice in the downfall of treason," has been received. I regret that my duties here will not permit me to attend with the citizens of the commercial metropolis of our country, who will on that occasion respond to the summons of the eminent gentlemen who compose your committee. I am sure your meeting will fully comprehend the duties of the hour, and utter the accents of patriotism and humanity.

Slavery, not content with stifling for years the voice of conscience and of reason, diminishing the spirit of Liberty, scoffing at the faith and creed of the Republican Fathers, debauching political organizations, and dishonoring the public men of our age, has extinguished the patriotism of large masses in one section of our country, and impelled its supporters to raise the banners of a bloody insurrection. To-day Slavery "has lifted up" in the words of Bancroft, "its hand to strike a death-blow at our existence as a people—it has avowed itself a desperate and determined enemy of our national life, of our unity as a Republic." Shall we confront this "desperate and determined enemy of our national life," with uplifted "hand to strike a death-blow at our existence," with soft words and whispering humbleness, or shall we not rather, in the name of a periled country, by the strong hand of an outraged people, smite it down forever?

Humanity, justice, and patriotism all demand that the American people should never pardon the GREAT CRIMINAL that has raised the banner of revolt against the unity and authority of the Republic. The blood of our fallen sons demands that the Government for which they gave their lives should walk up to the verge of Constitutional power in the dictating condemnation of their murderers. The nation, imperiled by slavery, should use every legal and constitutional power to put it in process of ultimate extinction. To that end I would at once abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, repeal the BLACK CODE that dishonors the National Capital, tender to the loyal slaveholding States the assurances of the Federal Government to aid them in the work of Emancipation, deal justly and liberally with the loyal men of the rebel States, but free the bondmen of rebels.

With much respect, I am your obedient servant,
HENRY WILSON.
To J. McKAY, Esq., Chairman of Com. of Arrangements.

LETTER FROM THE HON. DAVID WILMOT.

WASHINGTON, March 5, 1862.
DEAR SIR: Your letter of invitation to attend a meeting to be held at the Cooper Institute, in the City of New-York, on Thursday evening, the 6th inst., has been received.

I am honored by your invitation, and would be pleased, if it were convenient, to be present and participate in the proposed meeting. My public duties will hold me here; and I can only respond briefly by letter to your kind invitation.

I heartily approve of the object of the meeting as set forth in the call. The honor and glory of the nation demand that the cause of this gigantic rebellion should be forever removed. This alone will give us peace and safety, honor and national respect. Slavery is the one exclusive, and only cause of the rebellion and the war, through which we are struggling for national existence. It is now made clear to all, that slavery is the deadly enemy of the Union—the implacable and eternal foe of free Government. A truly free Government, founded upon justice and right, and appealing to reason and beneficent laws for support, never did and never can long exist in the midst of slavery. God, in his providence, has placed slavery within the rightful power of the nation. We must not tremble and hesitate, because of the magnitude of the labors and duties cast upon us; we must meet and discharge our duties, as men in whose hands is placed the ark of human happiness and hope. We must stand, if we stand at all, for the rights of the nation, and now and forever destroy and wipe out from this nation the accursed institution of human slavery.

The slaveholder, by his treason and rebellion against the Constitution, and by the war he has forced upon the Government for self-preservation, has wholly absolved us from all constitutional and political obligations to treat his unnatural claim of property in man with any toleration whatever. When the traitor is forced by arms from his purpose to destroy the Constitution and Government, he cannot, the moment he is defeated in his wicked purpose, plead the Constitution as made by him, to overthrow as the shield and protection for his forfeited rights of slavery. It is the right and duty of the nation to protect itself now and in the future. We must make sure against another rebellion greater than that now upon us. The national life must be preserved by applying the knife to the cancer that is eating the very substance and life of the nation. The nation must make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of every traitor; and as a matter of policy, not of strict right, provide for making compensation to loyal slaveholders, for the temporary loss incident to the speedy emancipation of their slaves. Less than this we cannot do with honor or safety. We have a right to do more. We have a right, instantly and at once, to uproot and eradicate forever any local institution, law, custom, usage, that puts in imminent peril the national life. We have a right to kill slavery that the nation may live.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
D. WILMOT.
JAMES MCKAY, Chairman of Committee.

LETTER FROM THE HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4, 1862.
DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 1st inst., inviting me to be present at your proposed meeting at the Cooper In-

stitute on Thursday next, and I regret that my public duties here forbid my attendance. I could not hope, however, if present, to say anything new respecting our national troubles, or their cause and cure. Upon these topics I have already avowed my opinions, quite explicitly and at some length, in a speech in the House of Representatives, on the 14th of January; and every passing day deepens my conviction of the truth of my positions. This rebellion is the child of slavery. It admits of no other possible solution. The fact is as palpable as the existence of rebellion itself, and requires no logical proof. If there are persons who deny it, the attempt to convince them of their error would be like "administering medicine to the dead."

We are thus prepared to demand the only true and saving policy for our country, namely, the total extinction of slavery, as the righteous purpose of the war, and the sole means of a lasting peace. As an argument against slavery, and a reason for its overthrow, this rebellion is overwhelming. All the evils of slavery, social, moral, political and economical, are eclipsed by this final tragedy. We have patiently borne with these evils for more than 70 years, striving to live with the monster in peace, and to placate its spirit by every form of concession and compromise, only to be rewarded by this stupendous scheme of treason, piracy, and murder. Having run through the whole gamut of ordinary villainies, slavery has at last turned National assassin. It has inundated the land with the blood of two hundred thousand years, and painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. Every dollar expended in this war is expended because of slavery. Every soldier perishing in battle or by disease is the murdered victim of slavery. And every wall of sorrow ascending from broken and bleeding hearts is a "Thus saith the Lord" for scourging it from the land. These facts, instead of being ignored, should be kept in perpetual remembrance; for we can only hope for the favor of God in this terrible struggle by keeping steadily in view the cause of our quarrel.

It is to be said that the Constitution is the law of this policy. I reply, that the Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution. The Nation is greater than the Constitution, because it made the Constitution. The present Administration has taught us, by some striking examples, that the country is not the creature of the Constitution, and no one could complain should this principle be adopted in dealing with slavery, the source of our disasters. But I reply, further, that this is unnecessary. The Constitution recognizes the war power of the Government, which the rebels have compelled us to employ against them, and that power is, of course, commensurate with the demand for its employment. As a "military necessity," in strict accordance with the laws of war, and without any violation of the Constitution, we can now destroy the institution of slavery utterly, if we will.

The rebels having taken their stand outside of the Constitution, and defied its power, have no rights under it which loyal men are bound to respect. They have forfeited their property of every description, and the right to their own godless lives. The rebel States, by their act of rebellion, have committed suicide, and Congress ought to say so, and condemn them as traitors, preparatory to their reorganization and admission as States. Nothing short of this sweeping policy will save the country. We must cease to regard rebels and outlaws as "our misguided Southern brethren," and deal with them as rebels and outlaws. We must cease to deal with slavery as a pet and favorite, as the spared object of our love, and give it our quickest and hardest blows. Instead of giving the world to understand that this is a mere contest for power between contending States, we must write Freedom on our banner, and thus elevate our cause to the dignity of a great battle for Republicanism. The present Administration hesitates a moment to reconsider its avowed policy of reconstruction on the basis of slavery, which would leave the cause of all our troubles to fester in the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds.

I agree that this is not a struggle for the emancipation of black men, but for the life of a nation of three millions of people; but since it is slavery that has the nation by the throat, and thus thrusts upon us the issues of its life or death, we should destroy it absolutely and forever. Not to do so would be the most Heaven-daring recreancy to the grand trust which circumstances of the hour have committed to our hands. The mere suppression of the rebellion will be a horrid mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices, if we do not see to it that a permanent peace shall follow; while the millions in chains, now legally free by the act of their rebel masters, would yet be held in bondage against us as the authors of their cruel destiny.

Heartily desiring that your meeting may be a decided success, and a help in this time of need to the cause of Liberty, Union, and Peace,

I am, very respectfully, yours,
GEO. W. JULIAN.

JAMES MCKAY, Esq.

LETTER FROM THE REV. JOHN PIERPONT.

WASHINGTON, (D. C.) March 3, 1862.
MY DEAR SIR: Thanks for your invitation, this moment received. Would God that I could be with you on the 6th; but I cannot, without more expense of money and muscle than I can afford.

So, then, since I cannot stir my body so far, I embody my spirit "in these few lines," which pray read to the meeting, instead of a longer, but not a stronger, speech from

Your obedient servant,
JOHN PIERPONT.

To J. McKAY, Esq.
This fratricidal war
Grows on the poisonous tree,
That God and man abhor—
Accursed Slavery.
And God ordains that we
Shall eat this deadly fruit,
Till we dig up the tree,
And burn its every root.

Eloquent speeches—such as the times demand—were made by Rev. M. D. Conway and Hon. Carl Shurz, and the following Resolutions adopted:—

Resolved, That inasmuch as our nationality and democratic institutions are founded upon the idea that all men are created equal, and endowed with their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; whatever tends to weaken and destroy the vital force of this idea in the popular consciousness, is the most dangerous and fatal enemy to the real unity, true peace and glory of the nation.

Resolved, That national unity does by no means consist alone in the conservation of territorial domain, but in liberty of idea and action, and that no people can have a genuine love of liberty and the rights of human nature coexist with a toleration of slavery. Slavery is treason to the fundamental idea of our national existence, and its retention is a permanent and legitimate effect. In the present imminent crisis, he who seeks to maintain slavery becomes thereby the abettor of the great treason.

Resolved, That in the present extreme exigency brought upon the country by slavery, we hold the right of the National Government to destroy that sole cause of all our disasters, not only to be clearly within the Constitution, but to be imperatively demanded by it.

First, upon the ground that its existence is wholly incompatible with national self-preservation. Either the nation must live or slavery must perish.

Second—Because the rights and powers conferred by the laws of war upon all sovereignities, and under our system of delegated power, primarily upon the President and Congress, imperatively require its destruction as the only effectual means of ending the conflict, and reestablishing permanent national peace and prosperity.

And lastly and preeminently, because the supreme jurisdiction of the National Constitution over all the territories now occupied by the rebel States must be held to be exclusive of the traitorous rebel authorities therein established, by virtue of which alone slavery can therein exist, and the Constitution be maintained as the shield and protection for his forfeited rights of slavery. It is the right and duty of the nation to protect itself now and in the future. We must make sure against another rebellion greater than that now upon us. The national life must be preserved by applying the knife to the cancer that is eating the very substance and life of the nation. The nation must make a proclamation of freedom to the slaves of every traitor; and as a matter of policy, not of strict right, provide for making compensation to loyal slaveholders, for the temporary loss incident to the speedy emancipation of their slaves. Less than this we cannot do with honor or safety. We have a right to do more. We have a right, instantly and at once, to uproot and eradicate forever any local institution, law, custom, usage, that puts in imminent peril the national life. We have a right to kill slavery that the nation may live.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
J. WILMOT.

LIBERTY," and not utterly and forever rendered impossible by the re-institution of slavery.

We reiterate, therefore, and utterly repudiate the idea that the property and blood of the loyal people of the free States are to be wasted without result, in the suppression of the military power of the rebels, in order that the Capital may in the end be surrendered into the hands of the conquered traitors, and the National Government be again put under the heel of the slave barons.

Resolved, therefore, That amid the varied events which are occurring during the momentous struggle in which we are engaged, it is the duty and interest of the Government and the people to adopt and to advocate such measures as will ensure universal emancipation, and thus complete the work which the revolution began.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1862.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The message that was transmitted to Congress by President Lincoln, on the 6th instant, recommending the passage by that body of a resolution, proffering the pecuniary cooperation of the United States in case any Slave State shall adopt a gradual abolition of slavery, has excited deep interest and universal discussion. We will very briefly say what we think of it.

First—as to its style. It is very evident that the President writes all his own messages; for they are alike bunglingly expressed, and quite incredible in that particular as official documents. Take, for example, the paragraph in which "the initiation of emancipation" is reiterated in such a jumbling manner in the course of half a dozen lines. But this is a trifling matter, though deserving of criticism. The Cabinet should help the President to mend his phrasing.

Second—The resolution proposed for adoption by the President gives no reason for such an anomalous overture to the Slave States; it says nothing about any national or governmental exigency rendering the measure necessary or expedient; upon the face of it, it has no relation to the war, in which alone, even as a suggestion, it can find any constitutional warrant; and it is without limitation as to the period in which the offer may be accepted. In all these particulars it is radically defective.

Third—It offers a bounty to all the States that are in confederate rebellion against the government, as much as to any so-called loyal Slave States; and this cannot do with any sort of propriety, justice, or consistency. Treason is not a purchasable or negotiable article; and traitors are not to be allowed to make terms with a profit to themselves, by the government they are seeking to overturn.

Fourth—It not only perverts the recommendation of a "gradual abolition of slavery," but by its very terms holds out no inducement for any State to immediately emancipate its slaves; whereas, slavery ought not to exist for one moment, and special inducements ought to be held out for its instant abolition as against a lingering process.

Fifth—The President is at war with common sense, sound reason, the teachings of history, the instincts and aspirations of human nature, the laws of political economy, and the uniform results of emancipation, when he says—"In my judgment, gradual and not sudden emancipation is better for all, in the more financial or pecuniary view"—because no such paltry consideration is allowable, even if it were (as it surely is not) well founded. Ethically and pecuniarily, immediate emancipation is best for all parties; and the President is culpable for keeping up the old delusion of "gradualism." Away with it!

Sixth—The President, as well as Congress, in consequence of this slaveholding rebellion, and the extremity into which it has brought the nation, has

THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT, POWER AND OPPORTUNITY to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof;" and neither the President nor Congress need be allowed to evade this solemn duty by any dodge of this kind. "Now is the accepted time," and now let it be "the day of salvation." Multitudes of petitions from all the free States, signed by tens of thousands of estimable citizens, are before Congress, asking for the immediate abolition of slavery under the war power; and are these to be satisfied by proposing such a will-o'-the-wisp as a substitute? Why wait for the dealers in human flesh to determine when they will deem it advisable to cease from their villany as a matter of pecuniary advantage and cunning speculation with the Government, when the Government is clothed with constitutional power to dispose of the whole matter, at once, without any huckstering or delay? "Let justice be done, though the heavens fall." President Lincoln, delay not at your peril! "Execute judgment in the morning—break every yoke—let the oppressed go free."

WITHERED BE THEIR LAURELS.

By turning to the "Refuge of Oppression," on the first page, our readers will find what the profligate and brazen-faced Boston Courier characteristically styles "an admirable proclamation" by L. M. Goldborough, Flag Officer Commanding North Carolina Blockading Squadron, and A. E. Burnside, Brig. Gen. Commanding Department North Carolina. No matter what "laurels" those officers have won, or may win, by their success, one such proclamation should blast them forever. Mark what is said in the following extract:—

"They impose upon your credulity by telling you that all men are created equal, and endowed with their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; whatever tends to weaken and destroy the vital force of this idea in the popular consciousness, is the most dangerous and fatal enemy to the real unity, true peace and glory of the nation."

There is a specimen of moral discrimination and "Christian" principle for you!—placing the liberation of the slaves in the category with the destruction of liberty, the demolition of property, the perpetration of rape, "and such like enormities!" But these gentlemen officers very significantly remark—addressing the rebel slave-mongers of North Carolina—"We are Christians as well as ourselves!" Precisely of the same stamp, beyond all cavil! And they all "feel profoundly the sacred obligations of the character," precisely in the same manner and to the same extent. Such officers deserve to be cashiered without delay. They are a disgrace to civilization, to any notion of Christianity.

GREAT MEETING AT COOPER INSTITUTE.

The meeting held at Cooper Institute, in New York, on Thursday evening of last week, (it will be seen by the account given in preceding columns from the Tribune,) with reference to the abolition of slavery as essential to the peace and unity of the republic, was a great success, not only on the score of numbers, but in view of its commanding intelligence, talent and moral weight of character. In addition to the letters received, we have printed, was a long one from the Postmaster General, Hon. Montgomery Blair, which, being exactly adapted to the "Refuge of Oppression," we shall place in that infamous department in next week's Liberator. It is reeking with the venom of malignant colorphobia, and impudently asserts that "this jealousy of caste is the instinct of the highest wisdom, and is fraught with the highest good!" Of course, it is in favor of expatriating the whole colored population to some foreign territory! To the colonization of Montgomery Blair, there can be no objection whatever.

A ray and spirited speech was made by Rev. Moncure D. Conway, a native of Virginia, followed by an exceedingly able and eloquent one by Hon. Carl Shurz, which occupies nearly one closely printed page of the Tribune, and was warmly applauded throughout.

THE BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON—SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

The anniversary of the birthday of Washington was celebrated on the 22d ultimo, by a *déjeuner*, at the Freemasons' Tavern, London, at which some two hundred ladies and gentlemen (mostly Americans) participated. A portrait of Washington was suspended behind the Chairman's seat, flanked on either side by the "Star-spangled Banner" and the "Union Jack." The Rt. Rev. Dr. McViney, Bishop of Ohio, presided; and among those who supported him were Mr. Adams, the American Minister; Messrs. Wilson and Moran, Secretaries of the United States Legation; Mr. Morse, United States Consul in London; Cyrus W. Field, Dr. Margow and others. Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from Earl Spencer, Messrs. Bright, Schölefield and Gibson, members of Parliament; Mr. Dayton, United States Minister to Paris; M. Kosuth, and others.

The proceedings were highly patriotic, and occupy, with the letters received, no less than sixteen and a half columns of the *London American*, of the 26th ult. Speeches were made by Hon. Charles Francis Adams, U. S. Minister to the Court of St. James; Rev. J. Simkinson, Rev. Dr. Ferguson, Dr. MacGowan, Geo. Thompson, Esq., Hon. F. H. Morse, (U. S. Consul,) Cyrus W. Field, Esq., Washington Wilkes, Esq., Geo. W. Train, and others. Below is Mr. Thompson's eloquent and magnanimous tribute.

SPEECH OF MR. THOMPSON.

Gentlemen, I cannot say that I am wholly unaccustomed to public speaking; but this I can say, that addressing meetings like the present is by no means my hobby, and I have frequently rather shunned gatherings of this kind than sought attendance at them; and still less have I ever felt inclined to make meetings like this an opportunity of stating my private sentiments. I cheerfully consented, however, to respond to the toast of "The President of the United States," because I thought, in doing so, I could discharge an individual feeling, and that I could, at the same time, speak with some authority with regard to the feelings of my countrymen at large. There has not been before the world, for the last fifty or sixty years, a man for whose situation I have so deeply sympathized as the President of the United States of America. I have bitterly mourned over the course taken by many of my countrymen, who, ignorant of the circumstances in which the President is placed, have censured his measures, brought unfounded charges against him, and rebuked him for weakness and hesitancy, when I had reason to believe that he was not justly liable to any of those imputations. (Hear, hear.) Were this mere formal toast, I should have declined to have any connection with it, in the way of recommending it to an audience like the present, because it is not my wont to discharge these mere formal duties; but I am here to declare my own conviction, that Mr. Lincoln is peculiarly entitled to our sympathies, our respect, and our admiration, whether he be regarded simply in his own private character, or as the elect of a great nation of free and united citizens, or in his peculiar situation as Chief Magistrate of the United States at this moment. (Cheers.) On behalf of the people of this country, I may take it upon myself to say that—whenever they are fairly and fully informed with regard to the circumstances in which Mr. Lincoln, as well as every subordinate officer-bearer in the United States, is placed, by his obligations to observe the Constitution of that country, and by the very oath which he takes when he undertakes to serve that country—whenever the truth has been fairly and fully spoken, there has been at once a withdrawal of those imputations that have been thrown upon the President. I believe that this country never fairly considered the circumstances under which Mr. Lincoln was elected, nor are they aware, as they should be, of the nature of the obligations he has assumed.

The people of this country are but imperfectly acquainted with the Constitution of the country to which the majority of this assembly belong. Many have the impression that the Chief Magistrate is individually empowered to do whatever he pleases with regard to that great question which lies at the root of the present unhappy conflict, and that he may be censured if he does not exert that power. If they do not ascribe to the President that power, they at least believe that the Congress possesses it. Whenever they are told that neither the President nor the Congress has the power to do what it was always competent for our Parliament to do, seeing that they could determine whatever measure they pleased—whenever they are informed of the real state of the case, they can understand more clearly the circumstances in which the Government of the United States is placed.

With regard to the sympathy of the people of this country with the North, I assert that, so far as the industrious classes are concerned, in all the meetings I have held among them, and in private intercourse with them, I have scarcely ever discovered, when the truth has been fairly placed before them, any difference with the people of the North now engaged in this fierce conflict. (Hear, hear.) If anything would have tried the loyalty of the people to their principles in regard to freedom, it is the recent adversity that has come upon our manufacturing districts, through the suspension, and, in fact, the entire stoppage of one of the greatest branches of manufacture in this country. Yet, from the various meetings which I have attended in Manchester and its neighborhood, I am able here to declare that there is the greatest and most noble spirit of self-aid among the working classes of this country. (Loud cheers.)—Again and again I have put the question pointedly, and in the plainest and directest terms,—"Will you hamper the Government of the United States, and paralyze the people of the North, or at least distract their attention and engage them in two wars at the same time, by a precipitate recognition of these seceded States, or by attempting to break the blockade of the Southern ports?" The reply has always been the same—"No!" (Loud cheers.) There is not a sentiment in the English mind at this time more powerful and more universal than the sentiment of non-interference in the present state of affairs. (Hear, hear.)

I said that Mr. Lincoln was entitled peculiarly to our sympathy. No other President of the United States—though each in his turn has had difficulties to contend with—was placed in circumstances so embarrassing as those in which Mr. Lincoln is placed. The Northern States have been accused of rashness; the war has been imputed to them; the vice, the want of integrity, and the treachery, which are ascribable solely to the South, have been almost invariably ascribed to the North—or it has been attempted to be shown that they were equally conspicuous for those evils with the South. But when we look at Mr. Lincoln, called to Washington at a time when secession was already resolved upon, and all the means for rendering it an accomplished fact taken; when the act of secession had actually been made by some of the Southern States, finding himself in the Presidential chair, at the head of a corrupted and in great part a treasonable army, with men around him in every department who were, many of them, declared enemies to the Constitution which he had sworn to preserve—we behold a man entitled, under these circumstances, to our collective and national sympathy. (Cheers.)

Whenever I have endeavored to judge the conduct of Mr. Lincoln, or of his Government, in which they are placed—to ascertain carefully what are their true Constitutional powers, and what are the limitations of those powers—to place myself in their circumstances, and to judge what I would do if I were so placed, not with reference to my hopes and wishes and inspirations, but with reference to my ability on the one hand, and my obligations on the other. When I have judged Mr. Lincoln by such a standard as this, he may not have done in every case that which I may have desired him to do, yet I am here prepared to say that I can congratulate my American brethren that they have in the

person of Mr. Lincoln a person pre-eminently entitled to their warm attachment and most cordial support. (Loud cheers.) No one can trace his history without speaking of him in terms of admiration. He was first of all dependent upon his own industry as a field laborer, I believe—a rail splitter—he successively became a soldier, a lawyer, a representative in Congress, and then President of the United States. Without abating one jot of my fervent loyalty to my own sovereign, I congratulate you that you live under institutions in America which enable every fond mother, when she gazes on the face of her darling child, to see in him a possible heir apparent to the throne—(laughter)—for I see it so in the case of Mr. Lincoln; and what has happened to that orphan child, well, I hope, often happen to distinguished statesmen in those successive generations in which the Union will last. (Hear, hear.)

We are constantly told that what is going on in America is the result of democracy running to seed, and that all the excesses of democracy are proving its absolute failure. If we are to judge of democracy by the fact that, at the end of seventy-three years from the time the Constitution was adopted, a rebellion has arisen, which shall we say of monarchy on the continent of Europe? (Cheers.) I maintain that your glorious Union is disrupted, not because of the failure of democracy, but because of a defection from the principles of democracy. (Cheers.) Why, sir, in one of the Richmond papers some months ago, we had a programme of their new Government—a very great Government army, a privileged class, a high qualification for voters, and in fine nothing was wanting but a crown or a coronet to make a monarchical government altogether. I maintain, sir, that these principles are not the principles of the great North, and that whatever disgraces the South, and disgraces the South, and brings upon it this just condemnation of mankind, is ascribable not to democracy, but to the seed which was sown before the Revolution itself, and which has grown into a monstrous and contemptible oligarchy. (Cheers.)

I will not touch upon the question to which Dr. Ferguson has so beautifully referred, nor will I again sound the praises of my own countrymen; but I assert, sir, that I am from my own knowledge cognizant that there is at this time a larger number of persons interested in the cause of humanity and freedom in the North—men and women who have made great sacrifices, and run more risks, than ever existed in this country at any period of our anti-slavery existence. (Hear, hear.) We are too much misled by individuals and the statements of persons in authority. This is not the best mode of ascertaining the true state of the public mind in the Northern States. It is not from newspapers published in Philadelphia, or Boston, or New York, that you can ascertain the true feeling that prevails in the New England States. You can only get this information, as I have done, by travelling through those States, and ascertaining from the people, and judging from their own actions, what their real opinions are.

I venture to express a hope that, as events are now shaping themselves, and compelling statesmen to attend to them rather than control them, not only that your Union may be restored, and certain of your stars which are now eclipsed may appear in the field more resplendent than ever, but that when that happy day arrives, you may not only rejoice in the re-establishment of the Union at present severed by traitorous hands, and of your unviolated Constitution, but that you may find that you have not only restored the Union, and recovered your status as a great nation, but in the progress and issue of this great war, you may secure also impartial and universal liberty. (Loud cheers.) Of the success of the North I have no fear; I never had any fear. (Hear, hear.) I could have had none, unless I had lost all faith in human progress, and all belief in an overruling Providence. I know that the city of Boston alone could buy up North Carolina and all her slaves, and that New York could buy up Virginia, and have thirty millions sterling to spare. I know the blighting influence of slavery in the South; but I see in the North a display of virtue and a determination that their country shall be regenerated, and I cannot doubt the issue of this contest. (Hear, hear.) You may have to struggle for a while, but the time is coming when, in the language of one of our poets:—

Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
From the vale and midway meets the storm;
Though round its breast the gathering clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

The speaker resumed his seat amidst loud applause.

LECTURE BY WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

The sixth lecture before the Emancipation League was delivered in the Music Hall on Monday evening by Wendell Phillips, to a large audience. The lecturer commenced by saying that the friends of the Emancipation League meet now under the happiest auspices. All the news that comes to us is good, and favorable to their cause. All the signs of the times point to their success. The only danger is, lest the Northern people should take too much courage and rely on their zeal, trust in the logic of events which they may think could only result in the emancipation of the blacks. This continent must be, at no distant day, under one government and one race, but it will take more than a quarter of a century to perfect the work. This is a war between the slaveholders and the influence which their system has persistently exerted upon ten millions of people for the last thirty years. And it never will cease until the people are abolished, or slaveholders are. The only end to this war is in the total annihilation of one or the other. There is no probable ground for believing that the slaveholders can be converted; they must be expelled, or we must wait until they die out.

The contest between Kansas and Missouri was an epitome of that now raging between the North and South. Missouri invaded Kansas, and taught her to fight, so that five years of experience turned Kansas from an army of farmers to an army of Jayhawkers, which means Abolitionists with guns in their hands. And he would that all the 700,000 men of the North now in arms were Jayhawkers.

Another cause for congratulation is, that now, for the first time in the struggle, the President pronounces for us. From the holy of holies at Washington, we hear at last a voice. And I, for one, welcome that voice with my whole heart. It is one more sign of promise. (Applause.) If the President has not entered Canada, he has turned his face Zionward. (Great applause.) In England, years ago, the government spoke just quiet words, and later came the struggle of eleven hot years before which slavery went down. So do we believe our President's words are the handwriting on the wall. (Applause.)

The lecturer further commented on the proclamation, saying that by it the President says in effect:—"Gentlemen of the border States, now is your time. If you want your money, take it, and if hereafter I should take your slaves without paying, don't say I did not offer to do it."

Another bow of promise. This proclamation comes unexpected, unannounced, like a thunderbolt in the clear sky, and from the entire Northern press goes the voice of approval. This shows that the North is ready to follow where the President leads; and who can tell whether the next step will fall?

The President's proclamation is wonderfully suggestive, immensely pregnant with ideas. We have been told for the last fifty years that we must deal with slavery according to the strict letter of the Constitution; but where does the President find any authority for paying the slaveholders of Kentucky and Tennessee for their slaves, or for aiding people to get rid of a nuisance? The first line of the message recognizes the existence of a necessity which gives us powers utterly beyond the Constitution.

The Southern strength and purpose have not been aroused in vain. The root of the lack of appreciation is a lurking belief in the idea that the South is not united. Now, for all practical purposes, she is as much a unit as we were in the Revolution. During

thirty years, the most bitter discussions have been carried on there, and the Southern people have elected to the height of hatred on this subject. And what do the so-called Unionists of Tennessee say? "We thought you were an army of Abolitionists; we find you are not, and we are Unionists." An admission that they fought for slavery. Congress that she did before. Let peace come, and slavery remain, and what is the result? Five or six years hence, after intriguing with foreign nations, these Southern Senators will rise again with more success than now. And, leaving that aside, a long way is full of danger for republican institutions.

We are told by some that the South does not mean anything, is not in earnest. It is like the old ball game that we were told was so useless, and which came out at last, and sank two frigates. The South is united, and in earnest, and it is to the death. The slave will be liberated by them before they give up the struggle. It is to-day a race between the Lincoln and Jeff. Davis which will arrive at emancipation first—and which does will succeed in the end.

Mr. Phillips occupied an hour and forty minutes in the delivery of his speech: it was a very able effort.</

VALLANDIGHAM. The rebel new

"**HIS MARK.**" A correspondent of the *New Haven Journal*, in a letter from Roanoke Island to that paper, says that "in one company of the Wise Legion, out of sixty-four, but seven could sign their names, and in another of the same legion, out of fifty-eight, men but five were able to accomplish it." Yet these are the men who scorn our free, educated Northern mechanic.

"**A SLAVE YOKER.**" A slave yoke, with two anfractuous links to hinder one from getting through the bushes, the whole contrivance weighing five pounds, is now on exhibition at the Boston Union Meeting Fair. It was taken from the neck of a fugitive slave, named SEYMOUR, at Hartford. He was taken by Potomac, by a member of the First Massachusetts Regiment, after two hours hard filing of the iron collar.

"**The Philadelphia Saturday Post** thinks the General we have to thank for the recent victories is General Atchey.

"**Old Toucey**, that Yankee tool of the South, had the impudence to make a speech at a celebration of the Federal Government, at Hartford. A government had been better placed with Floyd or Cobb, his associates in the Buchanan Cabinet for the destruction of the Union.

"**The rebel accounts of the fight at Roanoke Island** told in glowing language that the celebrated General Seymour, who led the post of all the day, was cut down but seven; but we now know that they all ran away but seven, who were killed or wounded. A fair specimen of Southern exaggeration.

"**With most impious thought and feeling**, the President of the Southern Confederacy appeals to the Southern States for His support. A government founded upon fraud, falsehood and robbery, appeals to God for his protection! The Inaugural is a piece of brazen and foolish temerity. What he says, he does not believe in, and what he believes in, he does not say.

"Some editors seem still to entertain in, and try to spread the delusion, that the Union can be reorganized on a firm basis, and yet retain the *disorganizing* element slavery. It can't be done. As well expect fire and guns to be called together without an explosion.—*Norfolkian Free Press.*

"**John Stuart Mills**, the able English writer on political economy, characterizes the rebellion of the South as "treason of the worst sort—a revolt against the highest form of collective authority—an attempt to tear the Union apart by the most diabolical means." He also gives the English sympathizers with secession a good thrashing.

"**N. T. Gray**, of Washburn, has recently lost, by diphtheria, five children out of a family of six. Two were buried in one grave the same day.

"**James Redpath** announces that the Haytian Government have concluded an arrangement with an English company, by which a line of steamers is to be at once established between New York and Port-au-Prince for the conveyance of our emigrants. These steamers will start once a month. The first will leave New York on the 1st of March. A colony of 100 will be ready for her.

NEW ENGLAND FEMALE MEDICAL COLLEGE. The closing exercises of the fourteenth annual term took place at the College, Springfield street, in this city, last week. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. J. B. Follen, for his subject, "A government of men conferred the dignity of the Most Distinguished and noblest man graduates:—Allen Cornelia Avery, Lebanon, N. Y.; Maria Baker, Middleborough; Helen Morton, Plymouth; Lucy Ellen Sewall, Melrose; and Elizabeth F. Follen, of this city. Mr. Avery and Worthing read their medical theses, and the valedictory address was given by Prof. Zakrowska, on "Woman and her Position."

LADIES' MEDICAL ACADEMY. The third annual Levee of the Ladies' Medical Academy was held in March, at the City Hall, together with the Levee of Dr. William Symington Brown, the Principal, was presented with a valuable microscope, and Dr. Salisbury with a silver goblet. The graduating exercises took place the next day in the same hall, when the following ladies received the degree of M. D.:—Mary M. Ridcutt, Charlestown; Annie A. Crozier, Roxbury; Anna M. Poole, Newburyport; Margaret B. Brown, Greenwood, Mass.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER, for March, is published with the following table of contents: I. Lord Bacon; II. The Wesleyan Doctrine of Christian Perfection; III. Can we have an Art-Gallery; IV. Dr. Stanley and Arius; V. Schlosser and his Histories; VI. The Reformation and its Results; VII. The American Boston Review of Current Literature. The publishers offer new inducements to subscribers by proposing to furnish the Examiner in connection with the Atlantic Monthly and North American Review at reduced rates.

THE STUDENT AND SCHOOLMATE is the title of a new little work for young persons, published monthly, at one dollar per annum, by Galen James & Co., 15 Cornhill, Boston. It is among the best magazines for children now issued from the press.

ADDITIONAL SUMS,
Received for Twenty-Eight Subscriptions—Anniversary.

PRESTON Anti-Slavery Society, by Jane C. Amis-shaw,	\$8 0 0
LESSON Anti-Slavery Society, by Elizabeth Fletcher,	5 0 0
Ulliverson Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, by Ann Fletcher Jackson,	5 0 0
Sarah Baker Palmer, Reading,	2 0 0
My Palmer,	1 0 0
Elizabeth P. Nichol, Edinburgh,	2 0 0
Other friends, by Jane Wigham, Edinburgh,	12 0 0
Joel Smith, Leominster, Mass.,	\$5.00
George W. Stacy, Milford, "	2.00

A CARD.—By way of redeeming the failures attendant upon the Tableaux Exhibition of March 5th, at the Atlantic Monthly Rooms, arrangements are being made for an early repetition, and under circumstances insuring success. Due notice will be given of time and place.

Boston, March 12, 1862. **WILLIAM C. NELL.**

"THE GOLDEN HOUR," AND "THE BLACK MAN'S FUTURE IN THE SOUTHERN STATES." M. D. CONWAY, of Cincinnati, will lecture on the former subject, and **FREDERICK DOUGLASS** on the last, in this State, wherever wanted, during the next two weeks. Arrangements for their Lectures may be made on application to **JAMES M. STONE**, 22 Broadnail street, March 4.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION AT HYANNIS.—There will be an Anti-Slavery Convention at Hyannis, on Saturday and Sunday, the 15th and 16th of March. Cape Cod, hitherto, has never needed arguments, or even appeals, to crowd its largest halls, where the cause of Humanity and the Slave was to be the theme. —**PARKER PILLSBURY** and **E. H. WILFORD** will be present.

MR. HENRY C. WRIGHT will hold meetings in Foxboro', Sunday, March 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

EMANCIPATION LEAGUE.—The closing lecture will be given at Tremont Temple, on Wednesday evening, March 19, by **REV. MONSIEUR D. CONWAY**. Subject—"The Golden Hour." A ticket, admitting a gentleman and lady, 25 cents.

REV. CHARLES SPHAR will deliver an address in the Congregational Church at East Cambridge, on Sunday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Subject—"Criminal Reform."

MRS. B. JACKSON, M. D., has removed to 625 Washington street, 24 door North of Warren. Particular attention paid to Diseases of Women and Children. *References.*—**LATHER C. H. D.**; **David Thayer, M. D.** Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

INDUCEMENTS TO SUBSCRIBE.

TO THE EXAMINER for the present year, the **CHRISTIAN EXAMINER**, and **ATLANTIC MONTHLY** will be furnished for \$5.00 a year; the **CHRISTIAN EXAMINER** and **NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW** will be furnished for \$7.00 a year; the **CHRISTIAN EXAMINER**, **NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW**, and **ATLANTIC MONTHLY** will be furnished for \$9.00 a year.

Payment in advance to accompany the order in all cases.

A few subscriptions can be received on the above terms, beginning with **THE EXAMINER** for January, 1862, the first number of the current volume.

March 1, 1862.

